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TSINGHAI WORK REPORT

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

by Yuan Jenyuan

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Following is a translation of an article by Yuan Jenyuan in the Chinese-language newspaper Tsinghai Jihpao (Tsinghai Daily News), Hsi-ning, 6 December, 1959, PP. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Fellow Deputies:

The Second Session of the Second Tsinghai Provincial People's Assembly is formally opened today. This is a meeting of historical significance. The major missions of this meeting are: in accordance with the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Twelveth Plenum (enlarged) of the Second Provincial Committee, to sum up the glorious achievements our province has made in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism during the past ten years and especially since the great leap forward; to formulate the national economic plans for 1960; to mobilize the people of different nationalities to hold higher the glorious banners of the general line, the great leap forward, and the people's communes; to overcome completely rightist thinking; to exert our efforts to push the production-increase and austerity movement to a new height; and to forge ahead courageously to greet the continuation of the great leap forward in 1960 on the basis of over-fulfillment ahead of schedule.

On behalf of the Provincial People's Assembly, I wish to submit to you for examination a brief work report of the last ten years, a work report covering the period since the First Session of the Second Provincial People's Assembly, and a projection of our 1960 missions.

(I)

This year, being the 10th anniversary of the founding of our great nation, also marks the 10th

anniversary of the liberation of Tsinghai. While the people of different nationalities in our province are celebrating our brilliant achievements and are forging ahead to greet the continuation of the leap forward, it is highly significant to relate in retrospect the heart-warming changes that took place both before and after the liberation of Tsinghai.

Prior to the liberation, the reactionary regime of the Chiang-Ma gangs engineered racial disputes, sabotaged the solidarity of the people, carried out ruthless political persecution and massacres, kept the people ignorant, and adopted all possible kinds of barbarous and cruel measures to carry out super-economic exploitation. Tsinghai was in a state of extreme poverty and backwardness. There was a great reduction in population. The laboring masses had no political rights and were deprived of nearly all their means of production. Agricultural and animal husbandry production was wrecked to a great extent. In short, Tsinghai's economy was declining at an alarming pace. In 1949, agricultural production dropped by more than 30% and livestock more than 40% as compared to 1937. Industrial production was so nominal that it is hardly worth mentioning, for there were merely eight dilapidated factories that were in fact nothing more than handicraft workshops. In the vast Tsinghai Province, there were only 472 kilometers of highways and 14 trucks of which 4 could barely move. One postal station and one health center served the huge pastoral region. The Province had only 717 primary schools, 8 middle schools, and 41,928 students. Nearly all of the laboring people were illiterate. With rags as their only clothing and without sufficient food, they were on the brink of starvation and death. Under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, the people of Tsinghai finally overthrew the reactionary regime of the Chiang-Ma gangs on September 5, 1949. With Tsinghai liberated, the laboring people who once led the miserable life of slaves became masters of Tsinghai Province.

Under the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao, and the State Council; by the light of the Party's general line for the transition period, general line of building socialism, and the nationality policy; and directed by the Tsinghai Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist

Party, the people of Tsinghai in the past ten years had united together and had brought about brilliant achievements in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. The social aspects of our Province were transformed fundamentally.

Since our liberation, we had destroyed the reactionary regime and established people's democratic regime at all levels. We had wiped out the bandits and secret agents, suppressed the counter-revolutionaries, consolidated the democratic dictatorship of the people, and safeguarded people's democratic rights to insure smooth progress of the socialist enterprise.

In the rural areas, we had victoriously carried out the rent-reduction-anti-despot campaign and agrarian reform. Within the confines of the province, we had carried out the three-anti and five-anti movements and the campaign to remold the intellectuals ideologically. With amazing speed, we had brought socialist industry and commerce into realization and had attained a great victory in the rectification campaign and anti-rightist struggle.

Inspired by the Party's general line of building socialism and the Provincial Committee's call for the "five years of hard struggle for the purpose of changing the countenance of Tsinghai", the people of Tsinghai in 1958 threw themselves enthusiastically into the waves of building socialism. The pastoral region accomplished its historical mission of democratic revolution and thus secured a decisive victory in socialist revolution. A great leap forward in national economy and the universal establishment of people's communes were brought into realization throughout our province. Our socialist revolution won great victory not only on the economic front, but on political and ideological fronts as well.

Simultaneously with the securing of great victory in our socialist revolution, we had also made brilliant achievements in the building of socialism. In comparison with 1949, gross agricultural production value is expected to increase by 1.8 times, while gross production value of food will increase by 2.3 times this year. Animal husbandry is expected to show an increase of more than 70% despite the fact that some areas were seriously sabotaged by counter-revolutionary bandits. The building of industry has

been from non-existence to existence, from small to large, from a few to a great many, and from native to modern methods. Modern industries in such fields as metallurgy, chemistry, machinery, and petroleum were founded. Industrial bases and large numbers of industrial enterprises were built. People's communes in various regions have established several thousand commune-operated and brigade-operated factories. For instance, the Houtzuho Commune of Hsining City alone built 185 factories, half of which have reached the standard of semi-mechanization. The 1959 gross value of Tsinghai's industrial production showed an increase of more than 24 times as compared to 1949. (Unless otherwise noted, the figures shown hereinafter represent statistics collected up to November 20, 1959). As a result of the building of industry, especially the rapid progress made in heavy industry, apparent changes have taken place in the composition of the national economy. The percentage of the gross value of industrial production in the total gross value of industrial, agricultural, and animal husbandry productions is expected to increase from 9.5% in 1949 to 54.5% in 1959. The value of productive materials takes up 65.2% of the total industrial production value in 1959 as compared with 11.9% in 1949. Large scale constructions have been going on for the past ten years with a total investment value of as high as 1,360,000,000 yuan. In terms of construction area involved, new industrial buildings and various kinds of dwellings completed in the Hsining area are almost 2.7 times as much as the original buildings at the time of liberation. As compared with 1949, highway mileage has increased 29 times and trucks have increased 118 times. In 1959, the connection between Lanchow and Hsining by air and rail marked a new era in transportation of our province. Commerce and government finance are also in good shape. Total government revenue and expenditures in 1959 showed an increase of 53 times over 1950 while retail sales increased by 6.5 times. Since 1950, commodity prices have been maintained at a stable level, thus putting an end to the dreaded inflation that plagued the pre-liberation days. Cultural, educational, and health undertakings also progressed rapidly. More than half of the young people in our provinces are no longer illiterate. As compared with 1949, the number of primary schools has

increased 16 times, and seven institutions of higher education have been established. The number of students has increased 6.2 times by 1959. Public health agencies are expected to increase 227 times and hospital beds are expected to increase 99 times. Movie theaters have increased 24 times and theatrical groups 25 times. The average per capita spending on cultural items in 1949 was 0.4 cent against 2.40 yuan in 1958, an increase of nearly 600 times. The population has also increased as a result of the rapid progress of economic and cultural re-construction. Up to the present, the population of the entire province has shown an increase of 64% while the population of Hsining Municipality has increased 5.7 times as compared with 1949. People's purchasing power has also increased tremendously. The average purchasing power per capita of agricultural workers has increased 2.8 times and that of labor and other workers one time. Unemployment which existed in pre-liberation days has been completely obliterated as employment grows every year. Now, the people of Tsinghai lead a united, happy and prosperous life; the miseries of old days are gone forever.

I must point out that the brilliant achievements made by our province in the last ten years and the thousands of miracles created by our people cannot all be told in words or recorded in writing. Nor can they be demonstrated in entirety with figures. The facts cited above are merely a portion of the total that can conveniently be expressed in terms of figures. Even so, the facts show that we have made fundamental changes politically, economically and culturally at a rate that had never before happened in history. This is a task that the Chiang-Ma gangs could never dream to achieve and to which their work could not be compared at all.

The building of socialism in our province has always been at very high speed. During the First Five-Year Plan, for example, food production increased 11.5% proportionally every year, while the gross production value of industry averaged a 31% increase every year. However, even greater advances were made in 1958 and 1959. Under the guidance of the Party's general line of building socialism, the people of Tsinghai has demonstrated fully their initiative of dare-to-think, dare-to-say, and dare-to-do; practiced extensive communistic coordination; and scored a

great victory in the great leap forward of national economy. In the past two years, our progress has far exceeded the standard during the previous five-year plan days either in absolute figures or in comparative ratios. In 1958 alone, we created the miracle of a 32.8% increase in food production and 1.7 times increase in the gross value of industrial production. With the foundation of 1958's great leap forward, the current year saw even further progresses in the fields of agriculture, industry, and other types of construction enterprises.

The great leap forward in agricultural production began last year with the large scale water conservation work. Three hundred thousand workers labored day and night in drainage and irrigation works, thereby marking the beginning of our great leap forward. During the past two years, we have thoroughly carried out the agricultural "Eight-point Code", i.e., soil, fertilizer, irrigation, seeds, intensive planting, plant protection, farm management, and improving of farming tools, thus creating the tremendous increase of agricultural production. Irrigated field increased 1.6 times as much as the total achieved in the previous five-year period and forestation increased 4.7 times. Application of fertilizer per mou increased by an average of 2.3 times over 1957. Deep-plowing field reached 4,888,000 mou, and some 1,500,000 pieces of modern and improved farming tools were invented, copied, or introduced. Both this year and last year, unprecedented bumper harvests were reaped. Many high-output fields came into being. A national record spring wheat output was set by the Saishihk'e Farm with a yield of 8,585 catties per mou. This year, however, more than 47,000 mou of land in our province yielded more than 1,000 or 2,000 catties per mou, and more than 11,000 mou of land yielded more than 180 catties of vegetable per mou. State owned farms took the lead with their 620,000 mou of land, reaching an average of 443 catties per mou. During the past two years, rice and cotton have been successfully planted and have achieved significant yields.

As a result of the liberation of the large population of herdsmen, animal husbandry also resulted in abundant production through conscientious adherence to the eight-point measure for production increases, i.e., grazing land irrigation, feed, ranch

management, breeding, improvement of livestock, integration of farming and grazing, livestock disease control, and improvement of tools. There were many instances of two breedings a year and multiple birth livestock. Except the areas molested by counter-revolutionary bands, others have seen great increase in livestock output. The Koerhpen People's Commune reported a net increase of 23.8% over last year's livestock output, while the Kuomaying People's Commune in Jueinan hsien had an increase of 28.4%. In the past two years, irrigated grazing land increased 4 times in area, livestock disease control facilities also increased four times as compared with the previous five-year period. In 1957, the 17 state-owned ranches had 56,000 heads of cattle; in 1959, that figure reached 1,340,000 heads in a total of 43 state-owned ranches. A great majority of the herdsmen are now settled down and have grown 330,000 mou of grains and fodder this year, representing an increase of 2.3 times over the output of last year. For the first time in history, 41 communes and 10 hsien out of a total of 122 communes and 35 hsien in the pastol areas have attained self-sufficiency in grain needs. The Kuomaying Commune even sold 700,000 catties of surplus grains this year. Factories for processing animal husbandry products, repair shops for farm and pastol implements, and other similar small-scale enterprises were established in a number of pastol areas as a move toward the development of various types of sideline products. Many farms, factories, and towns have come into existence over the vast plains.

The great leap forward in agricultural and animal husbandry production and the realization of the people's communes have pushed further the high tide of industrial construction. During the great steel-refining campaign in 1958, thousands of workers, peasants, ranchers, and party cadres engaged in mining and blast furnace operations. With the output of 3,334 tons of iron and 1,085 tons of crude steel in 1958, Tsinghai ceased to be a non-steel-producing province. In addition, skilled workers were trained and large quantities of mineral deposits were discovered. In merely one year's time, we have successfully built up a small base for steel industry. Every county, city, and hsien have set up industrial enterprises. Industries operated by hsien

and higher levels showed an increase of 4 times over 1957. The rank of workers swelled to 320,000 in 1959, representing an increase of almost 2 times over that in 1957. New industrial products have been coming out in a seemingly endless stream with 2,000 different products in two years. Machine industry has progressed from performing simple repair jobs to turning out simple machinery, such as simple metallurgical and mining equipment, lifts, electrical equipment, and other relatively complicated items. Light industrial products, such as plastic, rubber and glassware have been produced in large quantities. Some 700 products, including soap, matches, clothing and leather have become self-sufficient. The Lenghu Oil Field has a steady average output of approximately 1,400 tons of crude oil per day, and an oil refinery with a capacity of 300,000 tons per year has also been completed. With respect to chemical industry, a large potassium fertilizer plant has been built. With respect to geological exploration, 1,377 mining spots covering more than 60 kinds of minerals were found in the past two years; this represents a 1.2 times increase than the number found in the first five-year plan period. The great leap forward in industry also brought about a great leap forward in communications and transportations. During the past two years, we have built 86.7% more highways than those completed in the first five-year plan period; the volume of cargo and passenger transported increased by 2 times. Basic constructions have been carried out on a tremendous scale. In the past two years, major construction items exceeded the limit by 29, or equivalent to 1.2 times the figure achieved in the first five-year plan. Investment value equalled 1.1 times and completed floor space 88.4% of those of the first five-year plan.

Concurrent with the great leap forward of industrial, agricultural, and animal husbandry production, there has been a big increase in retail sales of consumer products. 1958 showed an increase of 19.8% over 1957, and the first ten months of this year showed an increase of 38.3% over the same period last year. Inventory has been building up continuously; the figure at the end of October of this year represented a jump of 75.4% over that a year ago. Export trade has also been growing. The value of export goods during the past two years was 1.6 times that

of the first five-year plan. The standard of living of our people has been raised considerably as the people's purchasing power has been raised considerably and is expected to increase by 41.5% this year over that of last year. As a result of increasing earnings, savings have likewise increased rapidly both in urban and in rural areas.

With the great leap forward of industry and the raising of the people's living standard, cultural, educational, and health undertakings also thrived. In two years' time, the number of primary schools increased from 1,441 to over 2,200; middle schools from 32 to over 140; institutions of higher education from 2 to 7. At the same time, the number of students increased by more than 70% as compared with 1957. The campaign of eliminating illiteracy has reached every corner of the province. In 1958 alone, the number of young people who became literate was 3.2 times the number of young people who achieved the same status in the entire eight years since liberation (1949 - 1957). Various levels and types of part-time schools were established in great numbers in 1958, and the number of people who participated in studying increased 32 times as compared with 1957. Creative literature flourished throughout the province. The people composed over a million songs and poems to praise the party's general line, the great leap forward, the people's communes, the Communist Party, and Chairman Mao. In addition, more than 10,000 posters, 59,000 ballads, dances and dramas were created. From 1957 to 1959 movie theaters increased from 112 to 178, variety shows increased from 3 to 11, and special theatrical troupes increased from 4 to 26. Tibetan-language drama troupes were organized and "P ing-Hsien" plays were improved. Motion picture studios were formed to produce newsreel. Under the "literature for workers, farmers, and soldiers; and literature for the building of socialism" guidelines, cultural workers went down to the fields, factories, and into the countries to bring art and literature to the masses. They created a large number of fine works such as "Red Banners Over the Green Grass," "Storm Over the Plain," and "The New Treasure Island" which realistically reflected the struggle between the old and the new and brought about a new look to literature in our province. In the past two years, 31 new newspapers were added, representing an

increase of 6.7 times over 1957. We published 6,210,000 volumes of books in 462 different subjects, equivalent to 2.7 times the total volume of books published during the first five-year plan. The 17,740,000 volumes of periodicals published represented an increase of 88%. We have also started to publish pictorials and have thus far turned out 56,000 volumes. The quality of these publications have also improved tremendously. Comparing 1959 with 1957, radio stations increased by a whopping 85 times. The number of health agencies established in 1958 alone was 10 times more than the total in 1957. Hospital beds increased 213 times in the same period. The health campaign which centered on the elimination of the four pests, the promotion of sanitation, and the elimination of major diseases brought the epidemic of communicable diseases under control, reaching every corner of our province. The major diseases that had plagued our people in the past are nearing extermination. In 28 cities and hsien, including Kungho, venereal disease has been basically wiped out, infant mortality rate has dropped to 2% as compared to over 20% in pre-liberation days. During the past two years, technical and scientific research institutes increased from 3 to 16 and popular scientific research groups from 22 to 319. In the field of meteorology, national meteorological stations and public networks have been formed. Sports and athletics have become more and more popular every day. The number of people who have participated in athletic events has increased 4 times as compared with that in 1957. Tsinghai now has nearly 3,000 athletes, including three star-athletes, and we now hold the national championship in both men's and woman's hand-grenade throwing.

All these have greatly enriched the cultural life and scientific knowledge of our people, elevated political consciousness of the masses, built up our people's strength physically, and provided active incentive toward our socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

During the past few months, the people of Tsinghai, inspired by the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Twelveth Plenum of the Second Provincial Committee, have increased their effort in opposing the rightist

tendency and in speeding the movement of production increase and austerity. On the strength of the brilliant achievements scored in August and September, they forged ahead in the flush of victory.

In the field of agriculture, the winter production campaign with its emphasis on the accumulation and production of fertilizer has been carried out on a scale and at a speed unheard of before. By November 20, 440,000 workers have been pitched into the battle, and in one and a half months they have already reclaimed 3,060,000 mou of land, thus overtaking ahead of schedule the revised goal for this winter of 3,000,000 mou. This figure represents over 2.3 times the total area reclaimed during the ten-year period since liberation. Prevention of water and soil erosion was effected over an area of more than 11,000,000 square kilometers, intensively farmed land reached 2,780,000 mou, and accumulation of manure and production of chemical fertilizer reached more than 74,600,000,000 catties. The expansion of irrigated fields of 1,260,000 mou represents 73.1% of the total expansion made in the ten years since liberation.

In the field of animal husbandry, irrigated grasslands expanded to 1,180,000 mou and 760,000,000 catties of fodder grass have been collected by 20 November, showing an increase of 5.8 times over the entire year of 1958. Eighty percent of the cattle now have pens and some of the young cattle now have sheds. Disease control measures have been applied to 32,190,000 heads of cattle, representing an increase of 3 times over last year.

In the fields of industry and communications, the results are equally heart-warming. By November 20 of this year, more than 50 kinds of major industrial products have over-fulfilled ahead of schedule their respective plans for the year; highway passenger and cargo services reached 100.5% of their planned volume; and postal and telegraphic services reached 112.6% of their current year's planned volume. The first locally-built railroad between Hsining and Tat'ung will soon be opened to traffic.

In the fields of finance and commerce, better achievements have also been made ahead of schedule. On the political, legal, cultural, and educational fronts, new waves of leaps forward have appeared. The social order has become more stable, teaching

standard and quality have been raised greatly, and cultural and artistic endeavors have flourished as never before. And the situation is still improving. By November 20 of this year, the goals for the great leap forward of our national economy for 1959 as revised by the 17th meeting of the Provincial People's Committee have either been fulfilled or about to be fulfilled. Facts have proved once again that the more the rightist tendency is discarded, the more the people's exertion; and the more the people's exertion, the more the results of achievement.

As a result of the great leap forward of our national economy, people's thinking has been greatly liberated, the building of socialism has been greatly expedited; thus contributing to the brilliance of our achievements during the past ten years.

It should be pointed out here that the brilliant achievements of our province in the past ten years are indivisible from the heroic struggles of the People's Liberation Army and the civil police force of Tsinghai. They are not merely combat forces; they also played part in political re-education, took part in industrial production, and participated in road building. They rendered distinguished services to the people of Tsinghai in the liberation of our province, in the action of eliminating counter-revolutionary bandits, in the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. Besides engaging in action against the enemy and in military training, they utilized every available moment to take part in production and construction and to help the people of Tsinghai in every possible way. Their work included reclamation, plowing, raising and grazing cattle, building road, constructing bridges, repairing and building houses, fishing, hunting, digging sulfur mines, rendering medical services to the people, help managing people's communes, and others. Every single one of them is a hero in combat and a capable hand in construction. Based on even incomplete statistics, more than 6,000 of them were awarded for outstanding merits during the period from January, 1957 to September, 1959. Such high and noble qualities as their unquestioned loyalty to the Party, to the country, to the people, and to the socialist order will always be the example for us to

follow.

(II)

Our province is one of multiple nationalities. The brilliant achievements of our socialist revolution and our building of socialism in the past ten years is the result of rigid compliance to our Party's policy of equality and unity among all nationalities. This nationality policy has scored a great victory in the Tsinghai Province.

Under the oppression and agitation of the reactionary regime, especially the Chiang-Ma gangs, hostilities and suspicions were deep-rooted among the different nationalities during the early days after liberation. Historical disputes and clashes occurred frequently. In order to eliminate the alienation among the different peoples, to strengthen our solidarity, and to bring economic and cultural prosperity to the minorities, we have rigidly carried out our Party's policy of equality and solidarity among the different peoples and the policy of religious freedom. Progressing prudently but steadily, we have carried out a series of political and economic undertakings, established a united front, and adopted a policy of long-term cooperation and re-education of the leaders of the different peoples and religions. To those who had been used by the counter-revolutionaries to oppose the People's Government, we adopted the policy of persistent persuasion and lenient disposal; we also afforded them with adequate political arrangements. For instance, in the Angla uprising, we made some 17 attempts to win Hsiang Ch'ien over. When he showed willingness to repent, both the Party and the People's Government were willing to let bygones be bygones and even gave him the job of Magistrate of Chiencha hsien. Later he also held such posts as the Vice-Chairman of Tibetan Autonomous Region of Nanhua and Vice-Governor of the Tibetan Autonomous county of Nanhua. By doing so, we educated and consolidated the minority leaders and delivered a severe blow to the hidden counter-revolutionaries. Moreover, we mediated with wisdom and patience over 20,000 cases of nationality disputes and tribal clashes, stabilized the social order, and strengthened the unity of our people.

At the same time, we successfully carried out in the agricultural districts the rental-reduction and anti-despot campaigns as well as other agrarian reforms. By so doing, we helped the different peoples toward the road of mutual understanding, mutual assistance, and cooperation. In the vast pastoral districts, we strived to give prosperity to both cattle owners and ranch hands, to help poor cattle men to increase production, and otherwise bringing steady progress in mutual understanding and expanded production.

Based on this foundation, we have actively promoted autonomy of the minority people. By the end of 1954, we had set up in the areas where the minority peoples concentrated 6 autonomous counties, 5 autonomous hsiens, and 46 nationality hsiens. We had trained a large number of minority cadres and more than 2,000 of them had taken government offices at various levels. These minority peoples, having acquired their place in politics and enjoyed the rights of masters of their own fate, have greatly heightened their patriotic thinking and socialistic consciousness. They would say: "Chairman Mao gave us autonomous power. We had no home in the past, but now he had given us a home."

The process of promoting autonomy of the minority peoples was a process of fierce class struggle. The majority of the minority peoples as well as high level religious personages supported the movement enthusiastically, but the reactionary elements among the upper level religious leaders used every means to sabotage it. Some of them gave the ostensible support while doing underground sabotage; some of them openly opposed the movement; still others made use of their positions in the people's regime to exploit and oppress the people. Taking advantage of this situation at that time, the underground counter-revolutionaries attempted to wreck the unity and solidarity of the minority peoples under the false pretence of autonomy. In some areas, nationalist fanatics rejected the Han People under the disguise of autonomy. The vast pastoral districts at that time still had the old feudal system. Since the new autonomy would seriously weaken their traditional powers, the ruling clique of the feudal tribes carried on fierce struggles with the new regime. This kind of struggle is a struggle between democratic

unity and feudal serfdom, or in other words, a class struggle. Under the leadership of our party and on the basis of national equality and solidarity, we dealt crushing blows to the counter-revolutionaries and smashed the subversive activities of the reactionary elements among the upper level religious leaders. At the same time, we have succeeded in winning over and unifying the majority of the peoples by clearly defining our policies to them, eliminating their suspicions and wariness, and providing them with proper political arrangements. We also carried out simultaneously the struggle against regional nationalism, criticized the remains of the "Great Han Race" thinking among certain cadres, and rectified the rightist thinking that contended that there was a lack of trained cadres and therefore the autonomy movement should be carried out more gradually. By so doing, we have upheld the party's nationality policy, protected the democratic rights of the minority peoples, and successfully established the autonomous powers of the minority peoples.

In a class society, the nationality problem is in essence a class problem. The major clash in a pastoral area is the clash between the mass of workers and the cattle owners. Feudal cattle owners applied medieval and barbarous political oppression and super-economic exploitation over their workers. About 10% of the cattle owners owned more than 60% of the cattle; on the other hand, over 90% of the workers owned a meager 40% of the cattle. The exploitation rate was as high as 50 - 70% of the workers' income. As a result, the mass of workers was on the brink of starvation and death, thereby creating a sharp clash between the two classes. This class clash had long been overshadowed by the nationality clash simply because the cattle owners attempted to cover up the class clash among their own peoples by creating nationality clashes. Following the realization of the policy of autonomy of the minority peoples, the strengthening of solidarity among the different peoples, and the solution of most of the nationality problems, the class contradiction among the minority peoples became more and more obvious. As the working masses became more and more class conscious, they demanded firmly the overthrowing of the old feudal system, the abolishment

of religions privileges and feudal exploitation, and the establishment of a happy and prosperous socialist order of life. They demanded the way of collectivization and actually set up cooperatives on their own initiative. This is only a natural process in the progress of history. With an eye on cattle production and national unity, the Communist Party and the People's Government adopted the policy of peaceful reform in the pastrol areas. As long as the cattle owners gave up their exploitation of their workers and accepted the socialist reform, they were generally permitted to retain their political status and to maintain their standard of living. A policy of gradual redemption was applied to the means of production possessed by the cattle owners; starting from the time they agreed to accept socialist reform, they were paid a fixed sum periodically until a fixed date. At the same time, we persuaded the workers not to carry out intense struggle against their former masters during the course of reform. In order for the cattle owners to understand and accept socialist reform, we set a waiting period to give them ample time to consider the problem thoroughly. Owing to our rigid implementation of the policy of uniting all forces that could be united, we have gradually but steadily realized socialist reform in pastrol areas. Up to the Spring of 1958, 45 animal husbandry co-operatives and one ranch jointly owned by the state and the people were established, thus settling examples and pointing a way for socialist reform in pastrol areas. The working mass cheered: "Socialism is paradise and cooperative is the ladder. If we follow the Communist Party, we can never go wrong."

Indulged in the illusion of guarding their feudal possession, some of the cattle owners had made futile attempts to impede the establishment of the cooperative system and to undermine socialist reform of cattle industry. Bourgeoisie and rightists, joining forces with the reactionary cattle owners, also openly opposed the Party's policy of reform of the cattle industry. They spread malicious exaggerations about nationality clashes, denied the existence of class struggle, and insisted that nationality clashes are still the key problem in pastrol areas and that class struggles are enveloped by nationality clashes. They claimed that the cattlo

owning class can be left to abandon exploitations voluntarily and then grow into socialism all by themselves. They demanded arrogantly that other measures should be taken to solve the problem of private ownership and feudal rule in the pastoral regions. They opposed viciously the road of cooperativization. Under the leadership of our Party, we smashed thoroughly the frantic attacks of the reactionary cattle owners, bourgeoisie and the rightists, and established swiftly the system of cooperatives in most of the pastoral areas.

Following the gradual penetration of socialist reform in pastoral regions, diehards among the propertied class and members of the upper ecclesiastical stratum, being unwilling to see the old feudal class die away, frantically resisted socialist reform and even engaged in subversive counter-revolutionary activities. In order to afford them an opportunity to repent, we pointed out repeatedly to them that to accept reform meant future prosperity, and to resist it meant definite extermination in the end. At the time when they were actively preparing revolts or even after the revolts had already begun, we still tried patiently to explain to them the advantages and disadvantages of the two systems and urged them to rein in their horses on the brink of the precipice before it is too late. Despite the justice and humanity on the part of the Party and the People's Government, the reactionaries were blind with obstinance and, under the instigations of the imperialists and the reactionary bloc of the Tibetan area, carried out a counter-revolutionary rebellion with the intention of breaking up our unity and overthrowing our people's regime. Under the disguise of protecting national and religious interests and using monasteries as their bases, they coerced the masses, raided the People's Government, murdered revolutionary cadres, damaged grazing land, injured cattle, burned down houses, raped women, seized properties, and harmed the people. It was then obvious that it was impossible to implement our Party's policy of peaceful reform in these areas.

Upon request of the working masses, the Party and the People's Government began a suppression campaign in order to protect socialist enterprises and the lives and properties of the people. During the course of the campaign, we adopted the policy

of distinctive treatments, i.e., common rebels were to be distinguished from rebel leaders; those who took part in the revolt under duress were to be distinguished from true rebels; and those who surrendered were to be distinguished from those who were captured as prisoners. Those who were tricked into rebellion or joined the revolt under duress were not punished as rebels. Those who surrendered voluntarily were sent back home after a course of indoctrination. As long as they remain as law-abiding citizens and take part in production, we do not hold them to their past activities. Those showing exceptional merits were given appropriate rewards. Severe measures however were taken against those who surrendered at first but still continue to engage in subversive activities.

With the active support of the working masses and the efficiency of the People's Liberation Army, revolts were quickly put down and a mass movement of anti-feudalism grievances was unfolded. During the course of anti-feudalism struggle, distinctive treatment policy was also rigidly adhered to. To those we had had historical sins but had demonstrated progressiveness after liberation and had shown determination to repent, we offered them protection and assistance in crossing the barrier after they had convinced the masses. To the prominent patriotic persons from the upper crust of society, we insisted on the policy of reform and solidarity and continued to provide them with appropriate political positions. Thus, we have united and consolidated all the forces that could be united and consolidated, separated and isolated counter-revolutionary elements, coordinated the mass movements, and accelerated the advancement of socialist revolution.

In the anti-grievance struggle, the working masses voiced their age-old grievance by recounting how the cattle and ranch owners had seized people's property, usurped women, kept slaves, and committed murders; how the reactionaries of the upper religious class used hundreds of inhumane and barbarous tortures, such as chopping off one's hands, gouging one's eyes, skinning people alive, and other blood-chilling acts. These unbelievable tortures were substantiated by the discovery of human skulls, human skins, bloodstained clothes, and torture

instruments in monasteries. Furthermore, women's clothing, obscene literature and pictures were found in the living quarters of monks. The ugly faces and the true form of the reactionary class were exposed. The bitterness and anger of the working masses then led to the fierce struggle against the reactionary cattle owners and religious leaders. The system of feudal rule and oppression which had existed for centuries was finally completely obliterated, the ownership of production means by the cattle owners was abolished, and the feudal privileges and exploitation powers of the monasteries were abrogated. The political supremacy of the working masses was established, the historical mission of democratic revolution was accomplished, and a decisive victory in our socialist revolution was won. The working masses walked out of the darkness and into the loving sunshine. They were jubilant and full of good spirit. They described it as their second liberation. They sang happily that the "sun of happiness rises higher and higher; the days of misery will never return." They became very class conscious. Inspired by the great leap forward in the entire country as well as in their own province, they surged ahead in giant strides, bringing the universal establishment of the people's communes into reality and opening a broad path of prosperity for the pastoral areas. They say: "Our beloved Chairman Mao pointed the great road to light. We set up people's communes, and, with one single step, we ascended the rainbow leading to the sky."

However, rightist opportunists disregarded facts and sneered that it was too early to establish the commune system in pastoral areas and that it contradicted the theory of revolutionary stages. They disregarded completely the achievements made in the pastoral areas during the past nine years, especially since the socialist revolution movement of the past year. The working classes grew highly conscious of socialism and the areas already possessed the factors of a commune system. They disregarded completely the achievements made in the pastoral areas during the past nine years, especially the political and economic transformations and the historic, real, subjective, and objective conditions of communization; and the great achievements made since communization began. They know nothing about

the interlocking relationship between the theory of incessant revolution and the theory of the development of revolutionary stages. They failed to understand that, under the leadership of the Party and with the assistance of the people's democratic dictatorship and the proletariat, economically underdeveloped people could bypass the stage of capitalist development and could leap forward directly to a socialist state. This could explain only one thing: i.e., they took side with the reactionary propertied class and opposed the commune system. Under the leadership of the Party, we carried out a campaign of struggle against the rightist opportunists, exposed their evil intentions, and criticized their reactionary as well as fallacious reasoning. Furthermore, we defended the Party's general line and nationality policy, safeguarded the victory fruit of socialist revolution in the pastoral areas, and led the people's commune in pastoral areas to the road of solid and healthy progress.

As a result of the great victory of the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, the root of evils responsible for the outbreak of disputes among the different peoples were eliminated. The fundamental obstacle which impeded the solidarity of the peoples was wiped out, the practice of distrust and discrimination among and even within the different peoples was gone, and the economic recession and decline of the peoples under the reactionary regime were gone forever.

Because of our rigid adherence to our Party's policy of national equality and solidarity, economic and cultural undertakings of the various minority groups thrived as never before. In comparison with 1949, animals of various kinds in the autonomous regions increased 73.8% in 1959, the total output of grain increased 3.2 times, and the gross production value of industry operated by hsien and higher levels increased 4,537 times. The progress made in the production of by-products was especially great, and the income of the people increased tremendously. Take for example the Kuolox Tibetan Autonomous County, the average per capita income has already reached 150 yuans so far. There are now 850 national schools in the entire province, the number of primary school students increased 17 times. There are also 30 middle schools with an attendance of more

than 4,900 students. Finally, there is now a national college.

By the end of 1958, the number of minority people cadres had already reached 6,300 and the number of workers from the minority peoples had passed 9,800. Certain diseases previously prevalent among the minority groups, especially venereal disease which posed a threat to these peoples, have been brought under control. The tendency of population decline among the minority peoples in the pre-liberation days has long been halted and now a population increase has been noted. The minority peoples have certainly made great progress in socialist reform.

The brilliant achievements in our socialist revolution and the building of socialism were the result of our rigid adherence to our Party's general line. On the basis of the victorious accomplishment in our agrarian reform, we fought the anti-socialist-reform activities of the counter-revolutionaries, the reactionaries, the rich farmers, and certain middle-class farmers; rectified the miscalculations of certain people about the stages of development of socialism; corrected the rightist thinking, accurately carried out the Party's policy of cooperativization of agriculture; and swiftly led the farming masses to the happy road of cooperativization. Meanwhile, through the three-anti and five-anti movements, we defeated the frantic attacks by the bourgeois outlaws to sabotage socialist economy, and consolidated the leadership of state-owned economy in the national economy as a whole. In 1957, we again smashed the anti-communist and anti-socialist activities and the conspiracies engineered by the bourgeois rightists to seize the leadership of the Party and to restore capitalism. During the period of national economic recovery and the first five-year plan, socialist reform of agriculture, handicraft industry, capitalist industry, and commerce won a big success. In addition, gains were also made in anti-rightist campaign.

Due to the great victory in 1958 in the general line of the Party's socialist re-construction, the eventual extermination of capitalistic and individual economy was thus destined to come true. The rightist opportunists, representing the interests of bourgeoisie and all other falling classes, openly

opposed the general line, socialism, and the Party's leadership. As a result, we carried out even more intense class struggles against those rightists. Whenever the general line demanded added exertion, the rightist opportunists peddled the soft line; whenever the general line called for speed and austerity, the rightist opportunists advocated slow-down and extravagance; and when the general line called for the building of socialism, the rightist opportunists attempted to make way for the restoration of capitalism. By so doing, the rightist opportunists put themselves in opposition of socialism. Naturally, the opportunists did not win, but the Party's general line for building socialism did.

Following the rigid adherence to the general line, the national economy showed a great leap forward, the people's communes were put into effect, and the speed of re-construction had increased amazingly. The rightist opportunists, however, sneered at the great leap forward as a "display of boast" and as "carrying water with a bamboo basket." They attacked the great leap forward for violating the law of objectivism, creating dislocations, and causing market tension. This attack was completely absurd. The fact was that our national economy was progressing at a high speed and according to plans. In comparison with the speed of the average annual increase during the first five-year plan, the increase of industry in 1958 was 5.5 times and the increase of agriculture (excluding animal husbandry) was 2.8 times, thus realizing the policy of simultaneous development of agriculture and industry. The production of productive means in industrial enterprises increased 3.86 times and the production of consumer goods increased 1.27 times as compared with the previous year. According to the plan of developing heavy industries first, this kind of proportional increase is still entirely proper, and the so-called "overall market tension" is even more absurd. Favorable and unfavorable market conditions are judged by the growth and decline in the retail volume of consumer goods, the increase and decrease of prices, and the changes in inventory. Since the great leap forward, retail volume of consumer goods increased greatly, inventory also increased, prices have been stable, and the market has been prosperous. Take the supply

of a few commodities as an example, (period of comparison - January to October, 1959 and 1958) cotton increased by 27.1%, soap increased 50.7%, meat increased 43.8%, vegetables increased 73.7%, cakes and pastry increased 86.7%, sugar increased 15.5%, tea increased 17%, cigarettes increased 56.5%, and most other daily use items also increased. This explains fully that our market is certainly not in any state of overall tension. On the contrary, our market has been very good. As to the slight insufficiency of certain items of commodity, it was caused primarily by the increased standard of living of the farmers and ranch hands. With the number of workers increasing rapidly, purchasing power also increased at the same rate. The increase in commodity volume has not been able to catch up with this increased demand. Such a condition is a healthy one. It does not represent a decline in our people's living standard. As a result of progress made in production, farmers and ranchers consumed more and more non-essential food and daily use items and thus causing a temporary shortage of such items in urban areas. This is entirely reasonable. Furthermore, the Party and the Government promptly took a series of steps to solve the problems. The purpose of the rightist opportunists in making such unfounded accusations was to attempt to slow down the construction speed and thus causing a negative balance in our national economy. In essence, they oppose the construction of socialism at high speed.

The People's Communes are the natural products of the great leap forward in industrial and agricultural productions, the heightened consciousness about socialism on the part of the farmers and ranchers, and the great victory of socialist revolution in the vast pastoral areas. The communization was a mass movement in which the farmers and ranchers demanded to change the countenance of Tsinghai. As soon as they were set up, the communes demonstrated the combined government-commune power and resulted in increased production in both grains and steel. After further reorganizations, labor productivity was increased even more. A great number of irrigation projects were constructed and a large number of farming tools were created or improved. In addition, it expedited the coordination among industry, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery.

Commune operated industries have reached over 10,000 and the gross production value for the period of January to October of this year reached 31,490,000 yuan, an increase of 40.5% over that of the same period last year. Production of by-products has developed so quickly that the revenues they brought in almost doubled. The earnings of the commune members therefore increased rapidly. The communes have universally adopted a remuneration system that combined the merits of both the wage system and the distribution-in-kind system. The communes established large numbers of public mess halls, nurseries, kindergartens, rest homes, and other collective beneficial organizations. The commune system not only liberated women's labor power, but also brought about the ideal social state wherein "the old folks have their rest, the young people all have work, the children lack no means to grow up; the widowers, the widows, the invalids, the childless elders, the orphans, and the sick people all have means of support." The commune system has brought rosy and promising futures for the working masses. It will serve as the best form of gradual transition from socialist collective ownership to socialist common ownership, and from socialism to communism. The communes have been praised as the key to happiness and have laid the foundation that will bring happiness to endless future generations. Rightist opportunists, however, accused the commune system as "premature", "poorly managed", "inferior to cooperatives and individual enterprises", and even as "having committed the crimes of Communism." They attempted to deny the fundamental basis of the commune system in order to push rural communities back to the miserable way of capitalism and even feudalism. Their accusations had been in vain for in the end their lot was totally smashed in the face of the rock-strong communes.

The fanatical attacks of the rightist opportunists did cause some rightist thinking among certain cadres, and the growth of rightist feelings did affect the enthusiasm of certain cadres and the masses to a certain degree. However, inspired by the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Twelveth Plenum of the Second Provincial Committee (enlarged), the majority of the cadres and working people revealed and criticized the

reactionary ideas of the rightist opportunists in opposing the Party and Communism. The people have learned a lesson on the seriousness and harmfulness of the rightist opportunists' effect on socialist enterprises, and thus has heightened their own ideological consciousness. They launched firm struggles against the rightist opportunists, crushed their attacks, and safeguarded our Party's general line. As a result, a new situation emerged wherein industrial, agricultural, and animal husbandry productions all scored great leaps forward. Production standards also were raised steeply. Facts have proved that only through constant struggles against suspicions and the reactionary rightist opportunists can we continue to obtain victories.

The brilliant achievements in socialist revolution and the building of socialism were also the results of firm adherence to the approaches of the Party's general line. Marxists and Leninists believe firmly that the masses are the creators of history. The strength and the intelligence of the masses are infinite and endless. Both revolutions and constructions are matters of the masses and therefore must be worked out by the masses themselves. Hence, the difference between a proletariat revolutionist and a bourgeois revolutionist depends on the attitude he takes toward the mass movements. We are all proletariat revolutionists and we wholeheartedly support every proper action and every appropriate demand by the masses, insist on the general line, and take part in the mass movements.

Since our liberation, all our revolutionary campaigns have been carried out under the leadership of our Party and all victories have been secured through large-scale mass movements. The essence of the Party's general line of socialist construction is to give focal emphasis to the masses' consciousness, constructiveness, and creativism in the building of socialism. It reflects the ardent wishes of all the peoples in our great province and has served as a strong force in rallying the masses to the building of socialism. As soon as the general line was made known, it brought out the strength and intelligence of the two million plus population of our province and formed a massive mass movement, bringing startling results in our great leap forward. Socialist construction has been able therefore to advance

at high speed. It heightened the political and ideological consciousness of the people, built up the people's confidence to rely upon their own strength in building socialism, and afforded many valuable experiences. Experiences have told us that, as is true in the case of revolution, construction also needs mass movements. Only through mass movement, general mobilization of the masses, and the full demonstration of their intelligence and constructiveness could we overcome all difficulties and obtain victory at high speed. The rightist opportunists, however, slandered the mass movement of socialist construction as "fanatical enthusiasm of the petty bourgeoisie", and attacked the mass movements as being masterminded by the higher levels. This clearly showed that they ignored completely the wishes of the peoples to change the countenance of our province. They adopted the attitude of bourgeois landlords toward mass movements. They took advantage of every opportunity to exaggerate the shortcomings that had been or were being overcome. They picked flaws, spreaded discouragement, grievances and pessimism. All these were completely against the wishes and feelings of the masses. They were ignorant of the fact that socialist revolution and socialist construction were the masses' own enterprises, and that nothing could be accomplished without the self-conscious efforts of the broad masses. They were also ignorant of the fact that in order to bring on a revolution one must organize the masses; in so doing, shortcomings are sometimes unavoidable. They were also ignorant of the fact that socialist revolution and socialist construction were the masses' own enterprises, and that nothing could be accomplished without the self-conscious efforts of the broad masses. As long as we know how to benefit by past experiences, shortcomings are not difficult to overcome. By their attacks and slanders, the rightist opportunists actually were against the general line, the mass movements, and the great leap forward. If they insist on taking the bourgeois stand, they will eventually be drowned out by the great mass movement.

Our socialist revolution and the building of socialism owe their brilliant achievements to the correct leadership of the Party. The Party has pointed out to us the direction and has established the

correct guideline and policy for us in every stage of our mission. Party leadership has served as a mighty force in inspiring our peoples in our march toward socialism. Without this party leadership, we could not have overthrown the reactionary regime of Chiang-Ma and his gangs and rescued the people of Tsinghai from the abyss of chronic miseries. Without it, we could not have scored the great victories in our socialist revolution and socialist construction. Without it, the minority peoples in our province could not have been able to release themselves from the fate of divine power and the state of poverty and backwardness. Without it, it would have been impossible to build a socialist society free from class exploitation and racial oppression. As a result, the different peoples sing their praises by saying "The Communist Party is the sun in the winter and the rain in the summer," and "Chairman Mao is the great savior of all peoples."

The Party furnished us the formidable weapon of Marxism and Leninism, provided us with effective means to carry out class and socialist education, heightened continuously the ideological consciousness of the peoples, strengthened our revolutionary will, conquered obstacles on the road of progress, crushed attacks by the reactionary class and other hostile forces, criticized and rectified erroneous viewpoints that departed from the Party's general line, safeguarded the Party's general line, and guaranteed the successful advancement of our province's socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The Party also established correct policies with regard to the training of cadres. It trained a large number of cadres who had the ability to understand communism thoroughly and to unite the different peoples, especially the minority people cadres. After the establishment of the commune system, more and more cadres were trained and they became the hard core and active elements in socialist construction work. The Party conducted constant indoctrination to insure the cadres of a correct view of life, to cultivate their love of Tsinghai, and to make them devote themselves unselfishly to the peoples. Furthermore, the Party sent a large number of cadres into the fields to strengthen the lower organizations, to participate in actual labor,

to live, to work, and to share food with the people, to penetrate and unite the masses, to take part in production, and to provide leadership in production. Thus, our revolution and construction undertakings have been able to go on smoothly.

In general, the leadership of our Party was the fountainhead of our invincible strength and wisdom as well as the lighthouse and helmsman in the choppy sea of socialist construction and revolution. Without the leadership of our Party, we would have lost our direction. The opposition of the rightist opportunists against the general line, the great leap forward, and the commune system was basically the opposition against the leadership of our Party. The destruction of the rightist opportunists' attacks saved the general line and guaranteed the leadership of the Party. In the future, the various levels of our people's council and all their members must rally closely around the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, to serve as the obedient tools of the Party, and to follow always the instructions of the Party. They must rigidly adhere to the direction pointed out by the Party and submit themselves to the absolute leadership of the Party. They must oppose any words and actions that might endanger the leadership of the Party, so that the tide of socialist construction may go higher and higher.

(III)

Our Tsinghai, vast in territory and rich in resources, is a very lovely place. It possesses extremely good conditions for the development of industry, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Its land is fertile. It has 40,000,000 mou of reclaimable land, which is almost five times the area of land presently under cultivation. Its water supply is plentiful. Nearly all the province can be devoted to agriculture. Crops can be cultivated even in the Tsaidam Basin, the Tanglha Range area (known as "the roof of the world") and Yushu and Kuolo grasslands at the heads of the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers. All these show that our province has a very good future for agricultural development. The province has a total of 1,800,000,000 mou of flat grassland with an abundance of grass and water

which can support a large population of cattle. With the commune system developing and growing strong, our province will soon become the largest base of animal husbandry in China. Mineral deposits are widely distributed over the entire province, and there are different kinds of minerals in every county and hsien. As a general rule, the deposit is rich and the quality is high. In about one-third of our province, more than 2,500 mining locations were either found or even tested. These mines include coal, iron, copper, petroleum, zinc, manganese, chromium, crystal, salt, etc. As is known to every one, Tsaidam is the "sea of petroleum" and the "treasure basket" of our fatherland. In the well known Chilian Mountains, there are rich deposits of numerous minerals, especially iron, coal, and copper. It can be expected that our province will become one of the industrial centers of our fatherland. The rivers in our province can provide an estimated 22,000,000 kilowatts of electric power which is a must for any industrial development. We shall regulate the Huang River, the Ta-tung River, the Yellow River, and the T'ung-t'ien River to serve the need of production. According to the preliminary project of the Northwest Railroad network, railways will reach every corner of the province. Highway construction is aimed at connecting every hsien, every commune, every mine, every farm, and every ranch in our province. We can see that this piece of rich land has an unlimited future. Under the leadership of Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the brave and industrious peoples of Tsinghai will, in a number of years, build our province into a lovely paradise with its granaries stocked full with grains, its fields full with grazing cattles, its factories and mines operating in full blast, and with a high standard of living and culture.

In order to expedite the realization of such a paradise in accordance with the spirit of the Eighth Plenum of the Eighth Party Central Committee and the Twelveth Plenum (enlarged) of the Second Provincial Committee, the national economic policy of our province for the year 1960 should give emphasis to the development of agriculture to insure its continuous leap forward and increasing food production, to the high speed development of animal

husbandry, light industry, heavy industry, transportation industry, education, health and culture. Emphasis should also be given to the improvement of commerce and finance in order to insure great leap forward in the overall economy. The national economic plan for 1960 which is being submitted to this conference for discussion is a plan of continuous leap forward. In order to insure the success of this plan, the following steps must be taken:

The emphasis of agricultural production must be on food. Increasing the output of food is the key to the construction of Tsinghai. Our province is a large province but its population is very small, thus we lack the necessary manpower to develop our natural resources. Consequently, we must increase our population very rapidly and an enlarged population needs more food to feed them. At the same time, the development of light industry also needs food and raw materials. Finally, the development of animal husbandry naturally needs more food and feed. Only by carrying out the great leap forward in agriculture and increased food production can there be rapid development in industry, animal husbandry, communications, transportation, culture, education, and health undertakings. To stress agricultural work today means better work in industry tomorrow; to stress agriculture today does not mean to forget industry. Therefore, it is entirely correct to place agriculture as our first task. We must continue to enlarge the area of land under cultivation and to increase the yield per acre. We must go all out to carry out the agricultural "eight-point code", to plant more crops, and to step up the output of food on a large scale.

At the same time, we must also actively develop such sideline products as oil, vegetable, poultry, and domestic animals. We must set up gradually production bases for food and industrial raw materials to raise the quality and quantity of agricultural products. In rural areas, we must give emphasis to irrigation and fertilization problems. Irrigation will be the main task in dry areas and fertilization will be the main task in irrigated areas. In mountain areas, water conservation and terrace-field planting will be the main task. We should strive to attain the objective of thousand-catty production by irrigated lands and

500-catty production by mountain land. We must push ahead water and soil conservation projects and forestation projects in order to insure the completion of a 2,000,000 mou forest and the erosion control of 4,000 square kilometers of land. The development of mountain areas must be done under overall planning. We should develop the areas suitable for farming, make use of areas best for grazing, plant trees in areas best for forestation projects, and develop other undertakings. We must turn deserted mountains into fertile fields, bald ridges into dense forests, and otherwise change the countenance of the mountain areas. In the pastoral areas, the emphasis of agricultural development should be placed on reclamation of waste land, irrigation, and fertilization. Government agencies, military units, civil groups, civilian police, and various organizations in rural, industrial, and mining areas should strive for the goal of self-sufficiency in meat and vegetables. Better equipped organizations should even strive for the goal of self-sufficiency in food.

Construction of irrigation projects and application of fertilizer constitute the basic problems in the development of agricultural production. Therefore, we must spare no effort in these tasks. With respect to the construction of irrigation projects, we should continue to follow the policy that places the emphasis on water conservation to be carried out on a small scale and to be operated by communes. With one year's strenuous effort, each person should build one mou of irrigated field, thus expanding the irrigated field by 2,500,000 mou and to increase the area of benefited field to 6,970,000 mou. We must utilize every kind of surface and underground water sources, dig ditches, build reservoirs, drill wells, build dikes, etc. We should do our utmost to irrigate as much land as possible. The irrigation projects and water and soil conservation projects will be closely interwoven. We must raise both the quality and the quantity of construction projects so as to remove the threats of flood and drought.

Simultaneously with the construction of irrigation and water conservation projects, we must also engage in large-scale accumulation and production of fertilizer. In order to attain the goal of applying 15,000 catties of organic fertilizer per mou in 1960, special fertilizer teams should be

formed and fertilizer bases set up. The accumulation and production of fertilizer should be based primarily on farm manure and assisted by chemical fertilizer. The method of accumulating manure should be improved so as to improve the quality and the quantity of manure fertilizer. Medium and small scale chemical fertilizer plants should be set up in counties, cities, and hsiens. Commune operated native chemical fertilizer plants should be increased as well as improved. The ultimate goal is to realize the plan of using nothing but chemical fertilizer. Hog raising should also be promoted, with the goal of one hog to every two persons.

To develop agricultural production at a high speed, the key step is to open up the existing waste land and increase the cultivated acreage. We must strengthen our leadership on the agricultural front, continue our mass reclamation project, and accomplish the task of reclaiming 5,000,000 mou of land by 1960, i.e., each person in our province should reclaim at least two mou. The land in the pastoral district is fertile and flat; survey and planning work should therefore be carried out rapidly. Each commune in the pastoral district should, without interfering with their regular work, engage in reclamation and planting. Grains, vegetables, and animal feed should be planted according to the suitability of the land involved. The labor potential should be fully utilized in the rural areas to make use of every inch of land space. Production teams with limited land space can organize short-distance reclamation teams to work in the nearby mountain areas. State-owned farms, being the key force in our reclamation project, must have strengthened leadership. Mechanical reclamation teams is a fresh force and should be utilized to the utmost. All districts and government agencies should demonstrate their spirit of communist coordination and furnish active support to the reclamation projects. Since last winter, more than 50,000 young men and women have migrated into our province from Hohan, and still more are coming. This force is marching toward our waste land to claim crops from the earth. Their mission is a most glorious one, and their support to the great development and construction of Tsinghai is of historical significance. Besides expressing our gratitude towards the Party and

government leaders of Honan and its people, we must continue to take good care of them and encourage them to settle down in our province so that we can insure the accomplishment of our reclamation project and increased agricultural production.

In order to obtain a bumper crop in 1960, we must make good use of this winter and the coming spring. On the basis of overfulfilling our reclamation project this winter, we must march ahead in the flush of victory and push to a new high the mass movements of water irrigation, water and soil conservation, and accumulation and production of fertilizer. We must firmly accomplish and overfulfill the task of building 2,000,000 mou of irrigated land, of accumulating 110 billion catties of fertilizer, of building 600,000 mou of terraced field, of constructing irrigation channels for 1,600,000 mou of land, and of controlling erosion over an area of 2,800 square kilometers. At the same time, we should also speed up the job of forestration, the breeding of draft animals, the selection of choice seeds, the distribution of good seeds, the repair and improvement of farming tools, and the organization of manpower and animal power in preparation for the spring plowing of 1960.

Animal husbandry production should give emphasis to ranching as well as to the fusion of ranching with agriculture. It should develop diversified operations and follow closely the eight measures for increasing the output of cattle. We must develop our grassland, improve our management, and enlarge the irrigated grassland acreage. We should strengthen grazing control, establish a sound production responsibility system, promote advanced production experiences, improve cattle breeds, and strengthen disease control. We must strive for the state wherein all cattle have mates, all female cattle bear calves, all calves are born alive and are raised into strong animals. We must actively develop diversified operations in the building of small industries to serve the people and to improve their livelihood. At the present, the three most important links in our work are the preservation of our strong animals, the raising of the young, and their protection against frost and cold. We must strengthen our first-rate animals, raise the standard of our second-rate animals, and

eliminate our third-rate animals. We must carry out cross-breeding, disease control and prevention, irrigation construction, and reclamation of waste land. Large numbers of sheds and stables should be built to protect the animals from our harsh winter.

The next step is the tidying up of the people's communes. It is the most important step in solidifying our commune system and in insuring the great leap forward in agriculture and animal husbandry. It is also a central mission for this winter and the coming spring.

Following the great leap forward of socialist revolution, there still exists the adverse current of bourgeois thinking in a small part of the areas. This type of retrogressive thinking has been demonstrated by a small minority of well-to-do middle class farmers and ranchers. They still cherish the thought of private ownership system and possess the illusion of hoping to go back to individual economy and capitalism. This is the continuation of the ten-year two-way struggle between socialism and capitalism. We must give special attention to this struggle and emphasize the task of socialist re-education in the vast rural and pastoral areas. Based on the principle of serious but peaceful persuasion and through the use of such measures as recollection, comparison, reckoning, reasoning, arguments and persuasive education, we must make them see the mistake of their beliefs, abandon the road of capitalism and accept the way of socialism.

In tidying up the commune system, we should insist on the principle of "decentralized management, decentralized financing, distribution according to effort," and the co-existence of both the wage system and distribution-in-kind system. We should strengthen the overall planning of people's communes, and we should develop agriculture, forestry, grazing, by-product, and fishing outputs as well as industrial production. In a democratic atmosphere, we should continue to establish and improve sound and necessary systems, lay out production plans, formulate concrete measures for rewarding over-fulfillment, and complete as soon as possible the job of distributing our 1959 net revenues.

Simultaneously with tightening our grip on thought and production, we must also make satisfactory arrangements with respect to the lives of

the commune members because this is the surest guarantee to the success of the great leap forward movement. Public mess halls must be operated on a voluntary basis. Economy in food consumption and production of non-staple food items should be encouraged. We should educate the masses to be frugal, industrious and austere. We should strive for the goal of each person saving a three-month food supply in the 1959 - 1960 food year, in addition to accumulating a 1000-catty non-staple food supply in this winter and next spring. Winter and dried vegetables should be stored in large quantities; hunting, fishing, and side-line production should be actively promoted. By so doing, we will be able to inject a little variety in our daily life, as well as to insure a full stomach to every member in the communes, to consume food economically, to save surplus food, and to increase our income.

With respect to local industries, we must follow the guideline that local industries should serve agricultural and other production, should serve the people, should serve the export trade, and should support the national construction. Farming and ranch tools should be produced in large quantities so that we could reach the state of self-sufficiency. Each commune and farm should be able to repair and service its small- to medium-sized tools. Chemical fertilizer and agricultural medicines should be produced to aid production. We should improve the quality of light industrial products and handicraft products. We should reach the state of self-sufficiency in items that we can produce ourselves and for which we have the necessary raw materials. At the same time, we should strive to produce as much steel, coal, petroleum, copper, potassium fertilizer, and sulfur as we can for the need of our country. We must improve the management of all our enterprises, continue our mass movements, exploit the labor potentials, continue to train new forces, promote technical revolution and renovation, raise our labor productivity, and improve the quality of our products. With respect to basic construction work, we should strive to improve construction management, raise construction quality and quantity, cut down on construction cost, increase construction speed, and insure longer service life. With respect to items over and above original quota, we must strictly

follow the usual construction procedure of surveying, planning, and reviewing before actually starting the construction process. At the present time, we must concentrate our efforts to complete unfinished construction projects, start on selected winter projects, and generally strive to put more projects into actual service. At the same time, we should actively proceed with the work of district and city zoning.

With respect to communications and transportation, we must stress "safety, economy", and the goal of 10,000 ton-kilometer per ton of truck and two-shift operation. We must strengthen highway management, organize reasonable plans, and utilize all empty truck runs. We should improve our loading and unloading operations, the mixing of heavy and light cargoes, the repair and maintenance of vehicles and highway, and the insuring of full loads in order to increase operating efficiency and turnover rate. For short-haul operations, the use of private vehicles should be promoted. In railway transportation, we must improve our planning and management, increase coordination, and raise operating efficiency. We should improve our road maintenance, organize cargo sources, coupling up longer trains, and increasing loading and unloading speed. We should also improve our passenger service.

With respect to finance and commerce, we must strengthen the political viewpoint, the production viewpoint, and the mass viewpoint, so that they will give even better service to different production activities and to people's livelihood. We should do a good job in the purchasing, processing, and distribution of agricultural by-products. We must support local industry and encourage exports. The next step will be closer coordination between industry and commerce, between agriculture and commerce, and the development of a sound network of commerce in order to provide the necessary means of production when they are needed. The goal is to promote production and to facilitate consumption. We should strengthen financial management and credit extension, put a tight grip on revenues and expenditures, promote better financial accounting in all enterprises, and improve business management. Following that should be the development of popular savings in order to support the building of socialism.

With respect to cultural, educational, and health undertakings, we should continue to follow our Party's general line and strengthen our Party's leadership. From now on, we should concentrate our effort in the training of teachers, the elimination of illiteracy, the popularization and elevation of primary school education, the improvement of middle school and higher educational institutions, and thus we can turn out trained personnel rapidly. To eliminate illiteracy, we should promote popular arts and literature and athletic activities, as well as strengthen and popularize scientific and technical research and study. We should also actively develop and raise the standard of our medical care, disease prevention, and other health and sanitary projects.

In the field of political ideology, we must continue to carry on intensive as well as extensive educational movements on socialism. We must publicize the brilliant achievements of our general line, the great leap forward, and the commune system. We must carry on the struggle between capitalism and socialism both on the political front and on the ideological front so as to bring about the rise of the proletariat and the fall of the bourgeoisie, to safeguard our general line, to insure our great leap forward, to protect our commune system and to speed up our socialist construction.

The large population of farmers and ranchers must, through socialist educational movement and the two-way struggle, raise their political consciousness and clarify their ideological thinking. They must have a clear understanding of the achievements during the past ten years, especially since the great leap forward movement, the superiority of the commune system, the soundness of our Party's nationality policy, and the need to follow the Communist Party in order to reach a bright future. Thus we can expect to follow the Party's general line to the fullest extent, to solidify and perfect the commune system, and to expedite the development of farm and cattle production.

Every worker should learn to build our nation through austerity. He should nourish a proprietary interest in his love of his country and his enterprise. He should always maintain the highest revolutionary vigor and activity compete in the socialist construction.

Every comrade should continue to be alert to criticize and purge all rightist-inclined thinkings, to study Marxism and Leninism as well as the works of Chairman Mao diligently, to strengthen the proletarian viewpoint, and to guarantee the full realization of our Party's general line.

The bourgeois elements, the bourgeois intellectuals, and the leaders of religious and minority nationality groups should continue on the basis of self-reform to obtain total reform in their political viewpoints. They should seriously study current events, Marxism and Leninism, and the great works of Chairman Mao. They should participate in manual labor. Religious members, whether staying in monasteries or returning to normal lives, should voluntarily strive to live by their own labors. To those who are unable to support themselves because of age and sickness and who have no relatives to support them, they may be given public relief. In the future, no one shall exhort, oppress, or exploit the people in the name of religion. With respect to the problem of religious beliefs, we shall continue to follow the policy of religious freedom. The choice of religion is entirely one's own.

In order to insure socialist construction, we must have a sound judicial system. On the eve of our National Day this year, and in pursuance to the special amnesty proclaimed by Chairman Liu Shao-chi and the decisions of the Party Central and the State Council regarding the disposal of rightist elements who have definitely been reformed, we released a number of reformed prisoners. This reflected that our people's democratic regime is stronger than ever. However, there still exists imperialism outside the country and there are remnants of anti-revolution and anti-socialism elements inside the country. The American Imperialist still occupies our territory Taiwan. Therefore, we must continue to deal severe blows to all counter-revolutionaries who try to sabotage our regime; to discover and eliminate those reactionaries who use religion as a disguise, to strengthen the re-education of all rightists, and to learn to distinguish all reactionary words and deeds. Thus we will further solidify our people's democratic regime.

Fellow deputies, during the past ten years, we have performed miracles never before known in

history. In the future, we shall perform more miracles. Next year, 1960, will be the third year in our Second Five-Year Plan; it will also be the key year in our second five-year struggle to change the countenance of Tsinghai. Let us all follow the wise leadership of the Party Central Committee, Chairman Mao, and the State Council to continue our best effort in our glorious task of socialist revolution.

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